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ABSTRACT

As literature designed specifically to help young adults make appropriate career decisions, vocational guidance books explain what background, experiences, and personal traits are necessary to succeed in various careers. They are of interest to researchers because of the attitudes they reveal about journalism as a field. A review of 30 journalism guidebooks written during the first half of this century shows that the activities, needs, status, rewards, and environment of journalism were described in fairly consistent ways through mid-century. "A nose for news" appeared in Julian Ralph's 1903 highly autobiographical books as a necessary trait for journalists and thereafter in every major guidebook by both journalists and vocational advisers. Given the profession's chronically long, irregular hours and physical discomfort, and sometimes even danger, journalism demanded physical strength and good health (and sometimes sheer youth), persistence, and emotional stamina or "thick skin." On the other hand, those who persevered won thrills and excitement, although not high pay. Ralph criticized yellow journalism as corrupting and demoralizing, and he repudiated the view of journalism as a business. But he seemed more interested in using his own considerable experience to discourage those for whom journalism was not absolutely their forte than in attracting those who might be interested in its powerful public service mission. The message was also highly gendered. Women were steered toward the lighter tasks such as society news or more often steered out of the field altogether. (Contains a 58-item bibliography.) (TB)

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VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE BOOKS' ASSESSMENT OF THE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY OF THE PRESS

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As literature designed specifically to help young adults make appropriate careers decisions, vocational guidance books explain what background, experiences, and personal traits are necessary to succeed in various careers. Vocational guidance books also describe the mission, role, responsibilities, and rewards of various careers. Meanwhile, they reject certain bases for career choices as invalid. They cast certain expectations as improbable.

This paper examines what vocational materials published in the United States through the mid-twentieth century said about the value of journalism and the reasons--good and bad--for embarking on a journalism career. The issue here is how and on what basis they steered students toward or away from journalism. The major focus is what students were told about ethical possibilities and demands for social responsibility. Not all of the books addressed issues of social responsibility and ethics directly. For example, one 1906 survey of professions barely mentioned the press's "mission." Nathaniel Fowler, who also wrote a a 1913 journalism "handbook," simply asserted that most journalists were morally superior to their readers. Sometimes, however, authors' ideas about journalism's value and social mandate can be inferred from their discussions about traits and activities of the typical practitioner, recommended training and education, and promotion possibilities. As it turns out, career inventories published in the early twentieth century were generally quite specific about journalism's and journalists' responsibilities. Apparently hoping to inspire an ethical vision of

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a "noble calling," authors included prescriptions for what journalists should and should not do. Although these books are not themselves press criticism, they echo the themes of the dominant press critiques of the day, indicating the intellectual agenda set for journalism students.

This paper offers a qualitative analysis of approximately 30 books exclusively about journalism--every such book published in the United States from 1900-1947, the golden age of vocational guidance.[1] Chapters about journalism in 65 career inventories, also known as "vocational civics," are also included. Included here are the evaluations of both professional career advisors and working journalists. Journalists and journalism educators often justified their assessments as accurate and untainted by sentiment, given their "real world" experience and in-bred loyalty to facticity. Often trained in vocational guidance, counselling or education, professional career experts based their claims to objectivity and neutrality on their status as outsiders.

These books were widely available in municipal and college libraries. Often published through a career series, many of the comprehensive inventories were designed as textbooks for formal courses, since vocational guidance is essentially the front porch and back door for vocational/career education itself (Brewer, 1942). That these books were published in great number, widely available in libraries, or even assigned for class does not necessarily mean that students read them or paid particular attention to their messages, or read them as intended. Making strong claims about the effects of this literature is impossible.[2] On the other hand, students' appetite for career advice suggests that these books enjoyed

1. I examined all books listed in the appropriate categories in Warren Price's 1959 annotated bibliography and in the American Book Publishing Record, plus many other titles not listed there but whose authors indicated that vocational counselling was a primary goal. I found them through card catalogs of various libraries and by following the citations of other books. Of course, each book was read through to the end, even if little was relevant.
2. Circulation data about these books is not available.

a fair degree of credibility and that their accounts were read as authoritative. These books thereby suggest the bases on which students choose whether or not to pursue journalism careers and, if they did, their expectations of journalism and of themselves as journalists.

After summarizing the relevant historical context, including literature that preceded the emergence of a formal vocational guidance movement, the paper examines three kinds of materials: books exclusively about journalism, career inventories, and, because this emerged as a distinct publishing category, books for women (most but not all of them written by women). Although most male journalists agreed (more and less critically) that women would find few opportunities in the newsroom, women were split over the extent to which journalism was a "man's field." A New York Herald Tribune reporter said journalism was open to women, or at least young, energetic women, since publishers were increasingly interested in attracting women readers and since the demonstrations of "feminine ability" had demolished old prejudices (Filene 1934, p. 410). Loire Brophy (1936), conversely, warned women committed to journalism to resign themselves to the women's pages.

EARLY VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

Americans generally assume that career choices have momentous, permanent consequences for individuals and society. According to Nelson Sizer (1872), people in inappropriate vocations "sink into a dejection of spirit and a paralysis of hope and ambition, or, in despair, recklessly rush into vice and ruin" (p. 11). Another inventory began, "The strength and power of any nation depends upon its ability to make the most of the individual abilities of all its citizens" (Bijur 1934, p. vii). One war-time book (Campbell and Bedford 1944) said "vocational guidance is vital to victory" (p. 1); its lack caused poverty and crime.

The importance of appropriate choices notwithstanding, the major form of vocational guidance through the nineteenth century was the so-called "success" literature--books about "success" in the abstract, and biography or autobiography. Some of this literature was specifically calculated to inspire women. For example, Daughters of America recorded the lives of "noble and useful" women, including women printers (the Franklins, the Goddards, the Turners, the Bazins) and journalists (Hanaford 1882). Phoebe Hanaford said that in journalism, "woman stands the acknowledged equal of her masculine contemporaries; and the only question which affects her advancement in any branch of [this] profession is her fitness for the duties of that branch" (p. 686).

More formal vocational materials typically combined advice about vocational choice with information about specific careers. Most early nineteenth century surveys of trades and professions ignored journalism, although Edward Hazen's 1837 Panorama of Professions and Trades mentioned newspapers in a brief summary of the history of the printing press. Books published later nearly always included journalism. Nelson Sizer (1872), who advocated phrenology and conscientious attention to diet in selecting an appropriate profession, held the press in considerable esteem. The world was indebted to reporters, he said, for clear honest views of government and politicians, even those "intoxicated by passion or by strong drink" (p. 155). Sizer applauded the editor "endowed with sufficient wisdom to do his intellectual labor well, and a sufficient amount of moral and religious feeling to desire the great good of the great number" (p. 154).

Asserting that sixty per cent of Americans were ill-adapted to their occupations, Lysander Richard (1881) advocated a new science of vocations based on phrenology, physiology, and philosophy, as well as the study of specific occupational needs. "Vocophers" would study the physical, mental, moral, and social requirements of various professions, and would analyze job candidates.

Richard's preliminary analysis was that journalists should be deft writers, broadly and well educated, and have an abundant share of common sense (p. 94).

Recognizing that editors had no time to teach ethics, Martha Louise Rayne, a novelist, poet, and journalist established a journalism academy for women and she prominently featured journalism in What Can Women Do? (1893). She said little about journalism's compensations but agreed with colleagues that reporters are born, not made. Talented people cannot be dissuaded from journalism, she added, since it "chooses its votaries" (p. 47). Frances Willard, assisted by journalists Sallie Joy White and Helen Winslow, produced an immense, comprehensive book emphasizing the mental, physical, moral, and spiritual "uplift" of work (1897). White's section cautioned that success, influence and recognition came slowly in journalism. She decried the city editors who assigned stories "which no self-respecting young woman should permit herself ever to undertake" (p. 290). On the other hand, she said, "undertaken with humility of spirit, and treated with the highest respect," journalism was a satisfying profession, including for African-American women.

Immigration, rural migration, and the emerging division of labor called attention to the need for more efficient ways of developing the work force. Recognizing that obtaining effective vocational guidance through personal acquaintance and observation was becoming more difficult, social reformers of the late nineteenth century initiated several vocational projects. Many projects targeted women. For example, the Women's Educational and Industrial Union, founded in Boston in 1877, established its own employment department, issued bulletins and other publication, and offered training courses for counselors. Later, the Bureau of Vocational Information collected data on professions open to women. Its 1924 report, for example, presented journalists as influential, although journalism conventions tended toward superficiality (1924, p. 694). The

Bureau explained, "It depends on the integrity and intelligence of the journal, how it chooses its editorial writers and how freely it permits them, once chosen, to express opinions independent of prejudice or expediency" (p. 696).

Well before vocational guidance emerged institutionally, journalists were already trying to discourage people whose journalistic interests were only half-hearted and whose mediocrity might undermine the career's status as a profession. Such efforts intensified once growth in the number and size of newspapers, as well as the emergence of a division of labor within journalism, brought improvements in the market for experienced reporters (Dicken-Garcia 1989). Emerging recognition of the potential power of the press, however, also led Americans to become more critical of the press and to focus on press functions as well as abuses (Dicken-Garcia 1989, Marzolf 1991).

Higher education, including professional education, was quite late in taking responsibility for selecting and guiding students on basis of talents and aptitudes. By the turn of the century, however, universities began to provide both vocational education and vocational guidance. Not coincidentally, the number of books specifically about journalism careers increased dramatically as more universities established journalism programs (Steiner, 1994). These books were a crucial mechanism for steering the right people to college and the right students to the field. Some schools issued materials connecting their own curricula to careers. In <u>What Profession Shall I Choose and How Shall I Fit Myself for It?</u> (1884), Andrew White, the president of Cornell told students, "More and more there is a call for journalists whose knowledge is extended and thorough, whose opinions are based upon well-ascertained principles, whose powers both of thought and statement have been carefully cultivated (p. 31). According to White, Americans rejected the haphazard partisanship of journalism's "lower" ranks. But writers of "good powers and right aptitudes properly trained"--such training was available at

Cornell--could exercise "a commanding influence for good" (p. 32). Yale's vocational book (Crawford and Clement 1932) lauded journalism as combining opportunities for working with ideas and with people, and directly influencing huge numbers of people (p. 469). Since journalism continued to mix the aesthetic and the sordid, however, Yalies were urged to find other careers.

Frank Parsons coined the term "vocational guidance" in 1908 while making a report to his newly-founded Vocation Bureau. Trained as an engineer, lawyer, and teacher, Parsons (1909) rejected phrenology and other physical bases of vocational matching. His "trait and factor" theory for career choice instead emphasized the match between personal traits and job attributes. Besides direct consultation with experts, Parsons urged students to read comprehensive surveys of vocations. This encouraged the publication of monographs by various vocational institutes and of the inventories studied here, many of which made explicit claims to scientific method.

Parson's concern with self-analysis led to psychometric research, which also found its way into books about vocations. For example, a Syracuse University psychologist (Hepner 1937) provided an 166-item vocational interest test along with the "appropriate" grid pattern for various careers. Journalism, incidentally, was included as appropriate for both men and women, but the pattern of "correct" answers differed. For example, female reporters should answer "like" in response to questions about spending years in training and doing "mental work" at night; but this was not marked as necessary for the male reporters. On the other hand, while male reporters should like "to forecast events and results," this was not necessary for females.

After the 1950s, decision-making processes took on greater significance than information about specific jobs. Counselors emphasized self-understanding and self-acceptance. Although books about specific career fields such as journalism

continued to be published, more of them addressed the dynamics of career development.

BOOKS ABOUT JOURNALISM

Again, most of the books dealing exclusively with journalism careers were written by journalists who, having based their advice on their own gritty experiences, prided themselves on their cynicism (eg. Blythe 1912, Lundy 1939). Famous editors and reporters telling their "inside stories" typically promised to de-glamorize and de-mythologize newspaper work. Yet, they ultimately recounted stories of meetings with exotic people, dangerous travel, and the thrills of covering murder and mayhem. One openly hard-nosed New York newsman (Sugerman 1946) was quite happy to regard journalism as a stepping stone to other careers, although he said reporters could maintain a decent standard of living, at least after several years on the job. He reserved most of his energy for mocking college graduates as inflated with grandiose theories but lacking practical experience.

John Given (1907), of the New York Evening Sun, claimed that Americans appreciate their newspapers, read them energetically, and even fought for them. But while Given warned of certain ethical traps, he had little interest in the concept of mission. Furthermore, although he noted the scarcity of first class reporters, and the overabundance of poor and fair ones, the issue was not ethics, but rather the ability to see what is news, to get it, and to write it up in a "pleasing manner." There would always be some "great" papers (defined as dealing not merely with events but also causes and effects), some "garden variety" papers, some sensationalist ones. Given, like others, said yellow journalism was not as bad as often imagined. Similarly, Don Seitz (1916), business manager of the New York World, emphasized the variation among papers. Some papers maintained a high moral tone and would slowly "graduate" readers to more civilized, reflective

writing. Chester Lord (1922), New York Sun managing editor for 33 years, criticized slovenly, routine writing and the hacks who wrote it. But Lord subtitled his chapter on journalism's rewards "Chiefly Found in Congenial Employment and Community Service." For Lord, excitement, variety, and the intellectual stimulation was as significant as disseminating useful information. Frank Rollins (1907, 1929) also assumed that each newspaper apprentice would choose between "legitimate" or "yellow" journalism. Presumably Rollins was referring to the former in declaring that the journalism profession "has constantly increased in dignity, until today the most intimate friends and confidants, as well as favorite appointees, of presidents, governors and captains of industry are journalists" (p. 148). "[T]he real journalist...willingly gives something on his own account for the good of humanity" (p. 150).

Talcott Williams (1922), the former newsman who directed Columbia's journalism program 1912-19, regarded journalism as a noble calling and an "art" (as opposed to a trade or a profession). Williams said the zeal for public service and reform burned like a flame in the soul of American journalists. The director of NYU's journalism program (Lee 1919), however, defined newspapers as "an economic product made and sold like any other commodity" (p. 2). Kansas State professor Charles Rogers (1931) acknowledged journalism's seamy side, while concentrating on the "elation" and "glow" of covering a juicy story.

Lorine Pruette was one of the few women to write a "general" book about journalism careers. Pruette was also rare for stressing "the unusually pleasant opportunities" to socialize and talk shop with other reporters. Writing for a career series, she asserted, "There is, for those who survive the hardship and endless drudgery of the early days, a fascination and a romance about the work that is not exceeded by any occupation...." (1940, p.108). Nonetheless, journalism's primary advantage, as she saw it, was the fact that one could

legitimately believe in the importance of one's work. Like other journalists, Pruette was also very specific about women's particular difficulties. Yet, she condemned rather than tolerated the fact that women rarely escaped being shunted into special departments "where they may do good work and have fun in doing it, but where they are outside the main current of journalism" (p. 119).

THE VIEW OF JOURNALISM IN CAREER INVENTORIES

Hugo Munsterberg, one of the first academic theorists in vocational guidance, analyzed professions in terms of a trinity of feeling, thinking, and doing, or motives, knowledge, and activities. In analyzing journalism's "motives," Munsterberg (1912) emphasized the importance of information to democracy. Carrying out such a crucial responsibility required extensive education and "a belief in the high importance of the right guidance of public opinion" (p. 237). "The thoroughness of those who shape public opinion by their printed words will decide to a large extent the spirit of our national future (p.236). He warned, however, that hasty or irresponsible work could foster a dangerous superficiality.

Another major vocational textbook (1916, 1923) was co-authored by Enoch Gowin, William Alonzo Wheatley, who inaugurated university classes in occupational information in 1908, and John Brewer, one of the field's early historians and head of Harvard's vocational guidance bureau. They saw reporters as enjoying contact with important people, freedom of movement, and self-expression. Moreover, "it allows one to oppose evil and advocate good things for the benefit of mankind" (p. 293). Except for a new paragraph about newsroom hostility to women, Brewer and Edward Landy dealt with journalism in identical language (1936, 1943).

The importance of the press in shaping public opinion emerged in several 1920s vocational inventories. A few writers stuck to the more standard emphasis on nose for news, accuracy, hardiness, and perseverance as necessary to success.

Nonetheless, Frederick and Imogene Giles (1919) linked journalists' need for absolute accuracy and courage to their tremendous influence (exercised not through editorials but reporting of facts). William Rosengarten (1924) called daily journalism "the most powerful existing agent affecting public opinion and, through it, public action" (p. 192). "In order to render the public real service," he said, "the editor must be a man of high ideals and of absolute probity" (p. 194).

Similarly, one expert (in Jackson, Deming, and Bemis 1924) claimed, "A newspaper that tells what to do to make things better plays a great part in making democracy safe" (92). This was followed, however, with a list of "technical" and social qualifications rather than moral ones: news instinct, good health, sociability, tact, and flexibility. Edward Toland (1926) declared, "The journalist through his newspaper has thousands and even millions of people for his audience, and may exercise great influence in connection with almost any movement for reform, progress, or retrogression" (p. 125). Toland, who served a term in the New Hampshire state legislature, vented his complaints regarding journalism's preference for sensational, unsettling, or pessimistic news. Nonetheless, he agreed that newspapers served as "teacher, interpreter and leader of the free men for whose service it was freed" (p. 126).

According to Arthur Sinnot, a Newark, N.J. editor, "newspapers have increased their responsibility, to continue and complete their function of keeping the public informed about government, and the governments informed on public opinion" (in Bijur 1934, p. 136). Sinnot's model of the reporter inserted dignity, self-respect and respect for the profession itself in the list of qualifications, besides the usual nose for news, perseverance, courage, self-confidence. He compared reporters to historians, "writing and eventually perhaps creating, the day-by-day progress of the human race" (p. 138). Since monetary rewards were not journalism's attraction, Sinnot explained that besides acquiring

a wealth of experiences, "the newspaper man will have done honorable service to his fellow man." Indeed, while Sinnot acknowledged that papers varied in their degree of moral fiber, the United States press was ever vigilant against attempts to throttle its freedom or to divert its services to selfish ends (i.e. of advertisers).

The director of testing at the University of Minnesota attributed the relative scarcity of women reporters to the fact that "until recently it was not considered respectable by editors, parents and society in general for a woman to come into contact with the sordid side of life as reporters must do" (Williamson 1937, p. 290). If this implied that journalism was sordid, he insisted the prevalence of the swash-buckling editor and drunken reporter--"largely creatures of the perverted imagination of screen writers"--was diminishing (p. 282). Moreover, advertisers and business interests no longer controlled newspapers and yellow journalism was dying.

A 1937 guide published by the Society of Occupational Research (Bennett and Sachs, 1937) complained that carelessness and low standards mitigated against journalism serving as a preparation for writing fiction or drama, although reporters might be able to move into advertising or publicity. Even better, those promoted to editor would enjoy considerable influence and high prestige. "The work of the editor is varied, stimulating, and highly interesting. He feels the pulse of the community and...even that of the world" (1937, p. 401). Another Society publication (Campbell and Bedford 1944) included journalism in the chapter on entertainment and writing (the preceding section dealt with band leaders). Nonetheless, it, too, asserted journalism's importance and promoted a strict, exacting code for professional journalists, with an emphasis on facts and truth.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

One major area of consensus among professional journalists and professional vocational experts, both male and female, was that women presented a special case. Furthermore, while women disagreed as to how quickly old habits were dying, they all saw editors as essentially loathe to hire women. One explanation was that women left journalism, either to get married, or because the hours were too long, hard, and irregular, the nervous strain too great, and the rewards precarious and small. Another speculation blamed men for underestimating women's abilities, if not wholly ignoring women's potential contributions. Lady Editor (Shuler 1941), for example, called on women to be aggressive, driven, tough, persevering, determined, and energetic. Shuler herself questioned whether women possessed these qualities in sufficient quantity to endure journalism's hardships. Shuler quoted one foreign correspondent accusing women of abandoning foreign reporting once their desire for adventure was satiated. Another defended male editors reluctant to take coveted jobs away from men or to assign women to dangerous work. A third woman said, "Women cannot possibly do all the things men reporters have to do" (p. 80).

Orie Hatcher, president of the South Woman's Educational Alliance (1927), expressed no surprised that women needed to be better prepared and more qualified than men. On the other hand, that women were barred from administrative, executive and high status positions, and were instead concentrated in a "sub-zone of activity" was "depressing" (p. xxx). Having conceded that women writers were generally confined to writing for and about women, Hatcher was unable to say much about the enduring value of such writing. Most writing with feminine appeal was "entirely uninspired but ... clear, simple, terse, and pleasant to read" (p. 91). Hatcher was somewhat more enthusiastic about rural journalism, which offered better opportunities for women and had potential for promoting progressive rural policies and widening rural horizons (p. 92). In either case, the important

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qualifications included adaptability, a sense of discipline and duty, and "nose for news."

Again, a common question for women was whether reporting could lead to creative writing or was instead a "swamp" or a "rut." Miriam Leuck (1929) assumed that journalism's attraction was it offered preparation for creative writing--with reporters' low salaries constituting laboratory fees for a "research course in life" (p. 176). But quoting Edna Ferber's warning, "Don't stay in that too long," Leuck agreed that reporters often grew cynical. They knew life too well, especially its seamy sides. Reiterating a theme emphasized by male journalists, she asserted, "No woman belongs in newspaper work if she would be happy elsewhere. The labor is too long and hard, the disillusionment too wearing." On the other hand, in discussing the value of journalism school, she said journalism shaped more people's minds and opinions than any other profession.

Dozens of famous, highly accomplished women wrote chapters for Doris Fleischman, whose 1929 career survey followed the format of her husband's book (Bernays, 1928). Emma Bugbee acknowledged the romantic glamour of reporting, second only to acting. But Bugbee warned that the hodge-podge of journalistic experiences could ultimately hurt would-be "writers." The constant skipping from one sensation to the next can make one lose one's ability for sustained concentration, leaving one a "mental grasshopper" (in Fleischman, p. 265). She also anticipated the moral qualms about invading people's privacy and covering the sordid details of scandal. Bugbee countered this with what she called journalism's prime law: "[I]ntelligent society must be aware of what is going on in its midst, whether it be pleasant or unpleasant....With all its faults, the newspaper is the most active servant of the Twentieth Century and its most universal teacher" (pp. 267-68).

Elizabeth Adams (1930) enumerated particular challenges for women, such as the problem of combining professional careers with marriage and parenthood. Another was "a professional psychology which forgets all about them even more frequently than it objects to them, and is prone to include all women in certain sweeping generalizations" (1930, p. 18). Adams, who worked for the national war-time employment service, compared journalism to public utilities like the telephone and power companies, whose conduct was essential to democratic government and modern industrial society. Citing James Lee and Don Seitz, her study for the Women's Educational and Industrial Union acknowledged journalism's ties to business. Yet she also condemned the corrupting power of the advertising department.

Some women directly criticized "girls" who took seriously neither work nor preparation for work. Already in introducing her Jobs for Girls (1930), Hazel Cades mocked girls who liked to write and thought being an editor would be "fun." "Does editing mean going to lunch with fascinating authors and dashing off editorials or does it mean painstaking make-up and word counting?" she asked rhetorically (6). Journalism required good health, tolerance for long, irregular hours, and willingness to work a lot and at anything, but editing neither involved much writing nor paved the way for creative writing.

In another compilation (Filene 1934), a Kansas publisher particularly commended community journalism, which she sharply distinguished from the darker, more cynicism-producing urban journalism. Cora Lewis said: "To create pride in the community, encourage those who are original or gifted, and proclaim all things that make life finer, happier or more prosperous, as well as to record passing events, is the mission of the editor. She may have a mission, but never a Messianic complex" (pp. 414-15). According to another reporter, however, the allure of reporting was learning the 'lowdown' about everything and associating

with amusing, intelligent people. Although some fortunate reporters could work by an ethical code, journalism was a game (Filene, p. 430).

CONCLUSION

The activities, needs, status, rewards, and environment of journalism were described in fairly consistent ways through mid-century. "A nose for news" appeared in Julian Ralph's 1903 highly autobiographical book and in nearly every account thereafter by both journalists and vocational advisors. Given the profession's chronically long, irregular hours and physical discomfort, and sometimes even danger, it demanded physical strength and good health (and sometimes sheer youth), persistence, and emotional stamina or "thick skin." On the other hand, those who persevered won thrills and excitement, although not particularly high pay.

Julian Ralph (1903) criticized yellow journalism as corrupting and demoralizing and he repudiated the view of journalism as a business. But Ralph seemed more interested in using his own considerable experience to discourage those for whom journalism was not absolutely their forte than attracting those who might be interested in its powerful public service mission. "It carries with it importance to some who should stick to it and drudgery to others who should leave it" (1903, p.2). Especially in the 1920s and 1930s, most of the guidance literature sternly rebuked, or at least mocked those who were attracted to journalism for its glamour and/or ability to provide the real life experiences necessary to writing good novels. Several authors agreed that journalism helped prepare fiction writers. Most authors, however, debunked the romanticized conception of the bohemian reporter as presented on stage and screen. Only those who truly wanted to be journalists were invited in.

Simultaneously, journalism was framed as a profession demanding responsibility, given its power to influence public opinion and even change the

course of events. Orison Swett Marden, author of over a dozen success books, including Pushing to the Front; or Success under Difficulties and Fate: or Steps to Success and Power (both in 1895), already emphasized the power and influence of the metropolitan reporter in his 1905 book Choosing a Career: "He daily addresses and audience larger than he could hope to reach in any other way. If he is earnest and conscientious, he enjoys using his potentialities for doing good, righting wrongs, and being of use to the community; and this is fascinating" (278). Swett said journalists needed not only ability and instinct for news, but also judgment, discretion, tact, common-sense, and sympathy. Swett also included some advice for women from Sallie Joy White, a popular Boston Herald writer. After describing the demanding, draining nature of the job, White concluded, "Do everything as well as you can....Carry your conscience with you all the way along" (p. 281).

For an inventory edited by Edward Bernays (1928), Roy Howard, long-time newsman and then chairman of the Scripps-Howard newspapers, clearly defined journalism as responsible for mobilizing and directing public opinion. Since intelligent public opinion was the first requisite of efficient and successful democracy, he said, Edmund Burke's designation of the press as The Fourth Estate still applied. Howard somewhat defensively admitted that laymen may think that "journalism has degenerated into a mere matter of showmanship and commercialized entertainment" (p. 191). He conceded that people may enter journalism not as public service but for adventure and contacts with history-makers. Furthermore, application of the methods of big business had changed journalism. "[T]he highly organized and in many ways highly commercialized newspaper has as certainly supplanted the highly personal, individually edited news sheet, as has the modern hospital altered the methods of the family doctor-surgeon" (192). Nonetheless, it was legitimate service.

John Sorrells (1948), executive editor of the Scripps-Howard chain, also celebrated journalism a way of life and noble calling. He encouraged reporters, as people with compassion, honor and tolerance, to dedicate themselves to an important public service whose rewards were spiritual. Sorrells said, "A newspaper gives cohesion and direction and purpose to community life....It is the community's physician, father, confessor, and advocate" (p.8).

If reporters vehemently warned away anyone not absolutely committed to journalism, they usually were more tolerant regarding "garden variety" papers and even yellow journalism. William Allen White sharply distinguished two types of "peddlers" in the "news business" (Lockhart 1938). One crowd only wanted to make lots of money; they did so without scruples, by appealing to morons. Conversely, White's "type" sold truthful news, avoiding sensationalism, thereby earning great spiritual rewards and adequate materials ones. The point is that working journalists were much more likely than professional or academic career advisors to highlight romance and adventure, rather than public service. Ironically, at the very point that the so-called social responsibility theory of the press was beginning to be articulated, the vocational books by journalism were shifting to a more "practical" approach to "the industry."

The comprehensive inventories were quite likely to include very pointed criticisms of journalism's commercialism and sensationalism and to underscore press responsibilities in a democracy.3 A 1929 discussion (Smith and Blough) opened: "The daily newspaper is one of the greatest educational agencies in the world. No other factor so adequately reflects expression or so completely molds the thoughts of men and nations as does the daily newspaper. Whether for good or

3. Granted, this paper concentrates on those authors addressing the question of journalism's larger social values. At least 20 career inventories not mentioned here ignored the issue.

evil, its power and influence are as far-reaching as the territory it serves" (pp. 253-54).

The message was also highly gendered. The fact that women's opportunities were often addressed does not mean that journalism held the same meaning for women and men. These gender distinctions readily emerge in several sets of separate--but not equal--books for men and women. For example, Profitable Vocations for Girls (Weaver 1915) said women with a good education, a fondness of writing, and the capacity for hard work could find press jobs. Still, Weaver, director of a Buffalo vocational guidance bureau, explained that since few women could work under pressure, their acknowledged field was society news and the women's page, with children's pages and magazine sections providing additional opportunities. In Profitable Vocations for Boys, Weaver and his co-author Frank Byler asserted that journalistic success depends upon a man's originality and capacity for work (1915, p. 248). But the latter book's central "case study" concerned a reporter who attributed the newsman's need for "large equipment" to journalism's unique power to influence. "He instigates reforms, compels the correction of abuses, and directs the onward movements in human progress" (p. 254).

Jackson, Deming, and Bemis (1924) listed journalism among the vocations for boys, whereas advertising was listed for girls. Generally, however, even when journalism was not cast as off-limits to women, the grand aims and large-scale social purposes of journalism were clearly not tenable in women's beats. A couple of books tried to make noble claims for the potential of women's pages. At best, however, the women writing for potential women reporters discussed journalism's thrills and adventure. Books by two women reporters who went into college teaching funneled women into the specializations assumed to be their unique province, in view of the sexes' "naturally diverging viewpoints" (Boughner 1926, Brazelton 1927). Thus, the possibilities for influencing public opinion in the

direction of political reform and for exercising social responsibility promised men were not held out to women.

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